

THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER;

UNDER THE SANCTION OF THE BRITISH AND FOREIGN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY.

LX. Vol. III. No. 7.]

WEDNESDAY, APRIL 6TH, 1842.

[PRICE FOURPENCE.]

THE ANTI-SLAVERY REPORTER

is an Evening Paper, and is published once a fortnight, on alternate Wednesdays, by L. WILD, 13, Catherine Street, Strand, London. It is sold also by W. EVERETT, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill; and may be had of all news-venders throughout the country. Price 4d., or 8s. 8d. per annum.

* * Except in peculiar cases, the *Anti-slavery Reporter* should not be ordered from the Anti-slavery Office, but from such news-agent as may be most convenient.

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THE LATE MEETING AT PARIS.

The following are the speeches which were delivered by Messrs. Scoble, de Lamartine, and Odillon Barrot, after the dinner on the 9th ult.

Mr. SCOBLE spoke as follows:—Mr. President, in the name of the English and Irish anti-slavery deputies, now in Paris, allow me to return you our best thanks for the friendly and generous reception you have given us, as the representatives of the great body of abolitionists in our native land. They have sent us hither as the representatives of their principles and feelings—you have received us as such; and we accept the splendid hospitalities of this evening as a pledge of the devotion you feel towards the sacred cause of human freedom, and of your determination to aid us in achieving that freedom for the whole human race. Permit me, Sir, to add, that I trust this meeting—called for no selfish purpose, intended to advance no private ends—will conduce to the maintenance of peace between the great nations we respectively represent, and that the only rivalry of these nations henceforth will be found in deeds of benevolence and mercy—not in those of revenge and blood.

We came hither, Sir, on the invitation of the French society for the abolition of slavery, to attend a great public meeting which that society intended should have been held in Paris on Monday last, but which was interdicted by the government for reasons we shall neither canvass nor condemn: we are permitted, however, to meet you, Sir, and this distinguished company in private, as the friends of a cause dear to our hearts, and this fully compensates us for any disappointment we might have felt that our expectations and your intentions were not realized. To this company, then, convened under these circumstances, we make our appeal in behalf of suffering and oppressed millions, in the fullest confidence that the eminent persons of whom it is composed will cordially respond to that appeal, and not relax in their exertions, until there shall not be found on the face of the earth a slave to water the ground which he cultivates with his tears, or crimson it with his blood.

It is not, however, gentlemen, as an Englishman I meet you on the present occasion—it is not as Frenchmen I address you. Proud as we may be of these appellations, there is one more sacred and tender—one that links us with the whole human race—that of man! It is as a man sympathising with his oppressed fellow-man—feeling the pressure of his chain, and earnestly desiring his deliverance from bondage, that I address you, and conjure you by all that is inviolable in human rights—by all that is immutable in justice—and by all that is sacred in religion, to urge forward the cause of abolition in this country, as a great debt you owe to

mankind; and, above all, to him who is the great Father of all, and who commands us to “break every yoke, and let the oppressed go free.”

Gentlemen, this morning I had the honour of laying before some of you the results of emancipation in the British colonies in the West Indies, South America, Southern Africa, and the Indian Ocean. By that act of justice nearly a million of human beings were raised to the dignity and the privileges of freemen. The liberty they never forfeited by crime they have shown themselves worthy to possess by their admirable conduct. Their transition from slavery to freedom was unmarked by turbulence or crime. They received their freedom as a boon from heaven, and were too grateful for its promised blessings to dream of revenge for past injuries, or to stain the sacred gift with the blood of their oppressors. In the emancipated colonies of Great Britain the utmost tranquillity exists. The fear of revolts and insurrections has passed away with slavery. The laws are everywhere respected and obeyed. Crime has rapidly diminished, and in some districts almost wholly disappeared. Where treated fairly and honourably by their masters, the industry of the negro freemen abounds. The withdrawal of women, either wholly or in part from field-labour—change of occupation in a multitude of other cases—the education of the children in the schools, and, above all, the unparalleled drought which has prevailed during the most important periods of the last two years in Jamaica, Barbados, and British Guiana, have affected the production of sugar, but not to the extent that was feared; and, should the coming seasons be propitious, there is no doubt that the crop will greatly increase. In the meantime it is satisfactory to know that the exports of British manufactured goods to the colonies has increased in value more than one-third since emancipation has taken place, a decisive proof of the increase of the internal commerce of the colonies, and of the increased comforts of the people. The statements put forth by some parties in France, that Great Britain was prepared to sacrifice her West to her East Indian possessions is too absurd to need refutation. In emancipating her slaves she yielded to the moral sense and religious feelings of her people; and she anticipates, at no distant period, an increase to her resources and her greatness from that act of justice and mercy.

Permit me, gentlemen, to call your attention to one or two points, for the purpose of showing the true position of the abolitionists of Great Britain, in relation to some questions which they find to be the subjects of great interest in France at the present moment. I shall do so, however, not for the purpose of provoking discussion or controversy, but simply in the way of explanation. The right of search is one of those points. I give no opinion on its political bearings, nor on the delicate questions to which it has given birth. I leave that to statesmen. I beg, however, most unequivocally to observe, that the great body of British abolitionists do not look to treaties, however comprehensive their terms, or stringent their conditions, or perfect their machinery, to put an end to the detestable traffic in human beings. They are persuaded that the most effectual mode of accomplishing that object is the universal abolition of slavery itself. That is the root of the giant evil. Destroy the slave-markets, and you destroy the slave-trade. Leave them open, and that fatal scourge to humanity will continue. Under the treaties which already exist between Great Britain and other powers, the slave-trade has doubled the number of its victims and its horrors. No, gentlemen, it is not by treaties that the slave-trade is to be suppressed, but by the universal abolition of slavery. In making these remarks let me not be misunderstood. I would speak with all possible respect of the diplomatic acts of the British and French governments. I believe they have been actuated by pure and honourable motives in negotiating the treaty which has unfortunately given rise to so much painful discussion. They have sought to brand the slave-trade as piracy, and to engage other nations to follow their example. I honour them for this; though it is my deliberate conviction that the slave-trade can never be extinguished by the measures they propose to adopt for that purpose.

Another point is the existence of slavery in British India. Gentlemen, I admit and deplore its existence there. It is a question, however, to what extent it has the sanction of law. But, whether it be the creature of law or of custom—whether it have the sanction of the Koran or the Shasters, it is a fact, and we have to deal with it as a fact. I now proceed to show you what has been done in reference to its abolition. During the government of Earl Grey, in 1833, the charter of the East India Company was renewed. In the bill submitted to the House of

Commons for that purpose, there was a clause which provided for the complete extinction of slavery in all its forms in the Eastern possessions of Great Britain on the 12th of April, 1837, or sooner if it could be effected. The clause, in its passage through both houses of parliament, encountered much opposition; and, finally, as it passed the House of Lords, the date for the final extinction was stricken out, and the provision, as it now stands on the charter act, merely enacts that measures be forthwith taken for ameliorating the condition of the slaves, or mitigating the state of slavery in British India, and for extinguishing it *so soon as it should be practicable*. Nine years have passed away since the charter act became law, and the abolition of slavery has not been secured; nor, indeed, have any effectual measures been taken to secure that end. We have waited for the reports of government on the subject, and, having obtained them, are exerting ourselves to secure its immediate and entire abolition; nor, shall we rest until it is secured. Help us, gentlemen, in this great work, by the abolition of slavery in the French colonies.

Allow me now to address you as Frenchmen. You have in your colonies upwards of two hundred and sixty thousand slaves; their condition is deplorable. To you they look, and, with uplifted hands, plead for deliverance. Will you turn a deaf ear to their cries? If a wretch were brought into this assembly fettered from neck to heel—if that wretch were a woman—a woman in circumstances the most delicate, and she presented to your attention her bleeding person, fresh from the flagellation of the whip, would you not be horror-stricken? Would you not indignantly demand by whom this poor wretch had been scourged? Ah, gentlemen, she is a slave! Will you not bind up her wounds? Will you not shake the fetters from her limbs? Will you not deliver her from the grasp of her oppressor? Yes, you generously reply. Well then, gentlemen, let it be done immediately, unconditionally, entirely. Remember there are two hundred and sixty thousand human beings in your colonies liable to the same treatment. Who can imagine the aggregate amount of their sufferings—who can paint the depth of their degradation? Rescue them, I beseech you, from the horrible condition in which they have been placed by the cupidity and tyranny of their fellow-men. I am the more earnest in asking this at your hands, because I believe that your example on other nations holding slaves is more powerful than our own; they will follow you whither they would refuse to follow us, or whither they would follow us reluctantly. The example of France in the abolition of slavery in her dependencies will, whenever it shall take place, be paramount. Spain, Holland, Brazil, and, above all, the United States will feel its force, and adopt it as their own. Gentlemen, the destinies for weal or woe of six millions of the human family held in abject slavery are in your hands. As their feeble advocate, I plead for them—let me not plead in vain. Nor let me forget to add that Africa, prostrate and bleeding at every pore, stretches out her hands to you in behalf of her children. Terminate slavery in the countries to which I have referred, and you terminate the slave-trade, which has so long desolated and degraded her, and afflicted and degraded mankind.

Gentlemen, I do not find slavery inscribed on your charter. On the contrary, there I find written the glorious words "liberty and equality." These are the birth-right and inheritance of Frenchmen. But you would be unworthy of these blessings, if you withheld them from any human being born within the limits of your great empire, whatever might be the colour of his skin, or his condition in life. Seek to render that charter, of which you so justly boast, a great truth wherever your flag floats, or your influence extends.

Again, allow me, Mr. President, to return you the grateful acknowledgments of the anti-slavery deputies present for the fraternal reception you have given them, and the generous hospitalities you have shown them since their arrival in France; and to express their earnest hope that the divine blessing may rest on your counsels, and crown your efforts on behalf of the oppressed with speedy and complete success.

M. de LAMARTINE.—Gentlemen, in listening to the pious and glowing words of Mr. Scoble (words animated by the warmth of a zeal so truly divine that they made their way to your hearts, notwithstanding the difference of language); in applauding with you those appeals to the love of universal liberty—the national characteristic of France since, half a century ago, she achieved liberty for herself—and those invocations to the exercise of French influence throughout the world, in order that that influence may hallow itself by the universal abolition of the infamous commerce in slaves; I experience a double sentiment—one of joy, and another of sorrow. Yes, I rejoice from my inmost heart. I see here, in brotherly union, men of different languages, countries, birth, and opinions, who, actuated by the single desire of doing good, have left their habitation and their country, have traversed the sea and a foreign land, in order to combine their efforts in favour of a cause which affects neither themselves, their families, their children, nor even their fellow-citizens, and to devote themselves to the regeneration of a race of men whom they do not know—whom they have never seen—whom they never will see—whose benedictions will doubtless follow them into heaven, but whose gratitude cannot reach them here below! There is a disinterestedness in the present age which is accused of selfishness; but it is a disinterestedness required by love to men, and rewarded by God.

At the same time, gentlemen, I could not repress my feelings, when I recollected that these sublime manifestations of love

for human kind, which refresh us here in all their vigour—a vigour so sincere and eloquent in the mouth of Mr. Scoble and his associates—would not be cherished beyond these walls; but that, on the contrary, you would not have quitted this meeting, the words which you have heard would scarcely have grown cold in your hearts, before malevolent challenges, odious insinuations, and interested clamours, would distort the actions, the men, the speeches, and throw over all a false colour, burlesque and ridicule—the first punishment of all truth. We must expect them, and we must brave them. Social, religious, and political truth would be too easy to follow, and too beautiful to embrace, were there not between her and us the interested hand of custom, and the sharp points of calumny!

What will be said of us, gentlemen? Two things: that, in urging men's minds to the solution of the question of slavery in our colonies, we are revolutionists; and that, in wishing the combined efforts of all civilized people for the abolition of the slave-trade, we are no longer patriots. Let us reply.

We are revolutionists. You see in what manner! You have just heard the prudent, well-weighed, irreproachable words of the speaker whom I follow; you have heard those of the duke of Broglie, of M. Passy, of M. Barrot; words which might fall from hence between the master and the slave, without awakening in their hearts any other sentiments than those of justice, mercy, and resignation. Our meetings have never heard any others. I assert that we are not, we do not wish to be, spouters of humanity, agitators of philanthropy, and from this place, where we are in safety, where we live under the protection of the laws and public authority, to hurl into our colonies I know not what arbitrary principles, pregnant with disorder and ruin, and to carry away at once the colonists, the masters, and the slaves. No; this would be both crime and cowardice; for, while we should receive applauses without danger in banquets like this, or on the resounding marble of the tribune, we should endanger our brethren, our fellow-citizens, in the colonies—the first object of our duty and our affection. (Unanimous applause.)

What, then, do we wish? That which has been told you, and that by mouths which add authority to their words; not to effect, but to prevent a revolution; to restore a principle, and to preserve our colonial society. We wish, gradually, slowly, prudently, to introduce the black into the enjoyment of humanity, to which we invite him under the tutelage of the mother-country, as a child to complete her family, and not as a savage to destroy it. We desire it on the indispensable conditions of indemnity to the colonists, of gradual initiation for the slave: we wish that the conducting of the blacks to liberty may be a progressive and secure passage from one rank to another rank, and not an abyss in which all would be engulfed—planters and blacks, property, labour, and colonies. See, gentlemen, what revolutionists we are! We say to the colonists, Fear nothing: our justice and our power is there to guarantee your wealth and your safety. We say to the slaves, Do not attempt to obtain any thing by other means than by public opinion: you will have no liberty but what we shall have prepared for you—but what will blend itself with good order and labour. If you call this revolution, then indeed we are revolutionists—revolutionists, like order! revolutionists, like the law! revolutionists, like religion! revolutionists, like Fenelon, like Mirabeau, like Fox, like Canning, like O'Connell, like the most conservative ministers of Great Britain; like all those great legislators and statesmen who find that a social truth has, by evidence, fixed itself in the opinion of a people, and boldly take it from the hands of philosophers in order to place it in those of the legislator, in the region of facts. May God give us many revolutionists of this species, and destructive revolutions will wait a long time! (New applause.)

We excite, we cherish, do you say, hope among the blacks? See, what a crime! You do not know, then, that the only punishment which God has not permitted man to inflict upon his fellow is despair! You do not know, then, that nothing sustains patience like hope, and that there are no bayonets, nor squadrons, nor prisons, nor manacles, which can equal, in order to retain the blacks in obedience and tranquillity, the assurance that the mother-country, that the government, seriously occupies itself with their condition—that ray of hope which issues from hence to gleam upon their last hour of servitude, and to show them from afar domestic happiness and liberty. (Applause.)

So much for the first accusation.

And now, is it true that we are not patriots, because we wish to give a country to a whole race of men, proscribed, and without a home under the sun? Is it true that we are less patriotic than those who, while congratulating themselves on having all the benefits of civilized life, are not willing that others should possess them? Does the heritage of the children of God upon this earth resemble that limited heritage of the father of a family, where some of the children have a smaller portion in order that a larger may be given to their brothers? No, you know it well. The vast domain of the common Father of men is without bounds: it extends itself, with civilization and labour, as far as new races present themselves to cultivate it; it is infinite in space, in rights, in facilities, in resources. It is the field of God. He who bounds it, and who says to others "You shall not enter here," not only encroaches upon man—he encroaches upon God himself. He is not only unfeeling and cruel, he is blasphemous and insane. (Lively assent.)

Would it not be well to understand clearly what is called patriotism, in order that we may not eternally repel, as reproaches,

ill-defined terms, which alienate our thoughts from one another, and sow error and irritation among men, and among nations!

Patriotism is the primary feeling, the first duty of man, attached by nature to his country above all, by all the ties of family and of nationality, which is but a family on an extended scale. He who should not be a patriot would not be a complete man; he would be a *nomade*. Why is it so honourable to die for one's country? It is because one dies for something more than one's self, for something divine, for the duration and perpetuity of that immortal family which has begotten us, and from which we have received every thing. (Cheers.)

But there are two kinds of patriotism. There is one which consists of all the enmities, of all the prejudices, of all the coarse antipathies, which people brutalized by governments interested in disuniting them nourish one against another. I detest thoroughly, I despise thoroughly, I hate thoroughly, neighbouring and rival nations; therefore I am a good patriot! This is the brutal axiom of some men at the present day. You see that this patriotism costs little: it is sufficient to be ignorant, to revile, and to hate. (Loud cheering.)

There is another kind of it, which, on the contrary, is made up of all the truths, of all the resources, of all the rights, which men have in common, and which, while cherishing its own country before all others, permits its sympathies to flow beyond the limits of races, languages, and frontiers, and looks upon different nations as the units which compose that one great whole, of which nations are the rays, but civilization is the centre. This is the patriotism of religion, of philosophers, and of the greatest statesmen; this was the patriotism of the men of 1789, that of your fathers, that which, by the contagiousness of ideas, has acquired more influence for our country than even the armies of your imperial epoch, and which preserved them most effectually. Yes, our own ancestors of 1789 showed us, in 1792, that those who dared to love mankind knew how to die for their country.

Them also they calumniated, reviled, and sought to deliver up to the derision and anger of the people! Them also they accused of being the dupes or the accomplices of the machiavelian designs of England, to destroy our colonies in regenerating them. They replied by naming their pretended accomplices in the parliament and associations of Great Britain. And who were they? Who were these pretended conspirators against the liberty, the rights, and the security of our colonies? These pretended enemies of France; who were they, gentlemen! Precisely those who, representing the opposition, combatted with the greatest perseverance the hostile and jealous sentiments of the English government, against our allies, against our revolution, against ourselves! It was Wilberforce! It was Sheridan! It was Lord Holland! It was Fox! It was the French party! It was the most enthusiastic advocates of the influence of your liberty throughout the world—those men who exclaimed in full parliament, that to separate France from England would be to mutilate European civilization; or who would have said with Fox and O'Connell, that France and England were together the pedestal of modern liberty, the pedestal on which the statue of humanity would be raised to the greatest elevation upon record. Behold the conspirators! To name them is to acquit them.

The susceptibilities of the two countries, naturally irritable after the painful political collisions which have taken place between them, have been excited. Mr. Scoble has touched on this point with as much loyalty as delicacy; I thank him for it. I would have avoided it; but it is better to explain one's self openly and without reserve. Public feeling has been unnecessarily aroused concerning a treaty, the time for which was badly chosen, and its extension and forms ill devised; but the principle of which (it was our own) cannot be abandoned by us, and was, in my opinion, honoured in the intentions of those who negotiated it. (Slight murmurs.)

What, gentlemen! because, upon specified shores, on points determined with prudence, and on parts of the ocean which we mean to define and to guard with all possible guarantees for our commerce, and the utmost respect for our honour, this flag would be united with that of entire civilized Europe to repress an infamous commerce in men! Is it fitting the dignity of the French flag that it should consent to cover with inviolability the crime of those foreign vessels, those 'tween decks, those floating charnel-houses filled with human victims, instead of a great and sacred principle of humanity and liberty, for the benefit of man and in the name of God! Ah! it was not thus that the honour of the flag of France was understood by the orator and statesman who, presiding at that day in the national assembly, saluted it for the first time from the height of the tribune. "The national colours of France," cried Mirabeau, "will go forth upon the seas, and be the symbol of this brotherhood of the friends of liberty all over the world." What would the great prophet of the destinies of the revolution have said, if they had told him that, fifty years from the day on which he gave utterance to those beautiful words, they would dare to invoke for the pirates of America, Portugal, or Spain, the right of sheltering their crimes under the inviolability of the tricoloured flag! He would not have believed it; and with reason. France does not will it!

Once more, gentlemen, let us brave these miserable yelpings of an odious interest, hiding itself under the honourable guise of national sentiment, which will, however, soon detect the shameful combinations which it serves to veil. Patriotism will withdraw its mantle, and interested selfishness will blush to be discovered in all its nakedness, and in all its weakness! A name has just been

pronounced, the venerated name of a man who passed through the same trials as ourselves, and triumphed over them—for every truth has its calvary, where it must suffer before it can triumph. This man was the apostle of the abolition of the slave-trade—it was Wilberforce! He pre-eminently struggled, during forty years, for the restoration of one proscribed race; and he struggled with that fixedness of purpose and calm determination which belong only to those men who devote themselves to one idea, because an idea is a thing which does not die, an eternal thing; it partakes, so to speak, of the duration of him who lives and endures for ever—of God. Those who in his time called themselves practical men, often held up his intentions and his conscientiousness to the derision of the politicians of Great Britain. He did not, however, despair; and there was a day, a glorious day, in his life, a day for which he seems to have lived all the long number of his years. This was the day when the parliament of his country passed the act of emancipation—the 28th of July, 1833. Wilberforce yet lived; but, as if he had waited for the reward of his life before quitting it, his last hour drew near when his friends came to announce to him that the liberating act was passed, and that his idea was realized; his derided idea, calumniated, reviled, torn like the garments of martyrs, during half a century, had become a law of his country, and would very soon become a law of humanity! The holy old man, who was already absorbed in the thoughts of eternity, and who for a long time had not uttered a word, seemed to revive like a flame on the stirring of the cinders; he joined his hands, attenuated by old age and worn out by toil; he lifted them towards heaven, from whence he had derived his strength, and from whence had come the victory; he blessed God, he said, as the author of all things. "My object is accomplished: I die content!" And a few moments afterwards his spirit rose into eternity, carrying before God the chains of a million of men. (Cheers.) Gentlemen, let us place always before our eyes this example of patience triumphing over the injustice and prejudice of the age, and let us pray God that half a century of labours and calumnies may deserve for us a similar result. (Applause.)

I request in my turn to propose a toast analogous to the sentiments which unite us all. Gentlemen, to the unity of nations; a unity of ideas and of religion by means of intellectual communication—languages, and by means of material communication—railroads; to that unity which centuples the resources of the human race by the power of association, and prepares for a divine unity, namely, the brotherhood of all races and of all men.

M. ODILON BARROT.—Gentlemen, it is the property of a good and holy cause, like ours, to be capable of being advocated under different aspects. I am in perfect unison of intention and sentiment with M. de Lamartine, with respect to the principle and object of the great work of slave-emancipation, to which he brings the aid of his pure and elevated genius; but he will pardon me for differing with him as to some of the means of accomplishing it. Thanks be to God, the cause of the abolition of slavery is gained, irrevocably gained, in our country, both as to right and principle. Who now in France, in this land which but to touch is to be free, will have the melancholy courage to assert that man can have a right of property over his fellow! Let such an one commence by snatching from the body which he would possess the soul which makes it a man, his fellow, his equal before God! What! You acknowledge that the slave has a conscience, you allow him a free choice, because you judge and punish him; and do you afterwards assimilate him to an animal, to a thing capable of appropriation? Ah! it is not such and such men, it is not such and such a nation, it is the human conscience which revolts against a pretension so absurd! Let property—the right of using and abusing—embrace the material world, its dominion is thus sufficiently vast; but that it should extend to man, to that divine creature who belongs not to himself, this is an insult to God and man—it is sacrilege! (Cheers.)

Gentlemen, M. de Lamartine has just told you, with that admirable poetry which is the language also of truth and good sense, that the question has left the hands of the moralist and the philosopher, to enter those of the legislator. The principle of abolition is secured; we draw near, I hope, to its realization. Let us not then embarrass such a position. Let us guard against bringing the public sympathy with the abolition of slavery into collision with the sentiment, not less respectable, of national honour. Our cause will gain nothing by such a conflict. The traffic in slaves was a crime in the eyes of humanity before it became so in the eyes of our country's laws. The indignation which I have ever experienced at a commerce which is infamous in its object, and atrocious in its details, is in no degree weakened in me; but, believe it, each nation is charged with repressing this, as well as every other crime, without alienating or delegating any portion of that sovereignty which no government can alienate or delegate. Nations may unite together to banish slavery from the earth, they may make, in sight of one another and of the civilized world, an engagement to pursue the accomplishment of this noble cause by all proper means; this is an alliance truly holy; but, in the attainment of this common object, each nation must act at full liberty, and preserve its independence. To confound sovereignties, to lose sight of the inviolability either of the territory or the flag, to place this inviolability in abeyance before a foreign jurisdiction, thus to put the sentiments of humanity in opposition to those of national pride, to create a collision between two noble passions, this, instead of raising a power for the abolition of

slavery, would be to expose it to the greatest danger. Pardon me these reservations; after the deep and lively emotions with which the eloquent words of M. de Lamartine have filled you, nothing less than an imperative sense of duty, and a regard to the interest of our cause itself, could have constrained me to present them to you. (Gheering.)

TO CORRESPONDENTS.

The state of the Lascars in London is not within our province. Mr. Abdy's letter to Mr. Tappan does not quite suit us. Other articles are under consideration.

The Committee have been sorry to learn that some of their friends in the country have not been able conveniently or regularly to procure the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*. They beg, therefore, to say, that, if, in cases of difficulty, information be sent to the Anti-slavery office, their best endeavours shall be used to supply a remedy.

Subscriptions and Donations to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society may be forwarded to the Treasurer (G. W. Alexander, Esq.) at the Society's Office, 27, New Broad Street, London.

Communications for the Editor of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter* also should be sent to the Office of the Society, as above.

Anti-Slavery Reporter.

LONDON, APRIL 6TH.

In our account of the proceedings which took place in the House of Commons on the 1st of March, in relation to the exportation of labourers from India to Mauritius, the speech of Mr. Hawes was incorrectly reported; and for the sake, both of Mr. Hawes himself, and of Sir Lionel Smith, upon whom a reflection might appear to be cast, we take the earliest opportunity of correcting the error. Mr. Hawes said, "the noble lord (Stanley) had referred to the despatches of Sir Lionel Smith; but even Sir Lionel Smith justified him in doubting the authority of the Mauritians. He said in these very despatches that he looked with extreme jealousy and distrust to the opinion of any person connected with slavery, and that he did not feel inclined to trust much to the professions of parties who were still mourning over the loss of their slaves."

From the notice with which the anti-slavery body in this country has recently been favoured by some portions of the public press, it might be suspected that some parties unnamed are pursuing objects of unusual importance. It is not customary to be loud in the abuse of anti-slavery societies, except when their influence is particularly dreaded. We thank our useful, though not very courteous, contemporaries for their note of warning, and shall endeavour not to be wanting in the vigilance and activity which their invectives so distinctly challenge. We are especially indebted on this occasion to the *Courier*, who exhibited us to the public on the 29th ult., in an ultra-violent article, which, but for want of room, we would have transferred to our columns. We will make room for an extract, however, that our readers may appreciate the veraciousness of the writer.

The difficulty remains to be solved—what is to be done for the West India colonies? Labour is wanted; without labour they perish. But the humanity gentlemen will not tolerate the importation of labour in the shape of Hill Coolies from India. They will not hear of Africans fresh from the African coast. For black skins the labour is too severe. But they kindly condescend to grant a permit for all the importation of white skins from Europe which can be obtained.

The last sentence is either absolute ignorance, or wilful falsehood.

On the 22nd of March, Lord Stanley stated in the House of Commons that he should shortly move the appointment of two select committees; the one of them to inquire into the state of the different West India colonies, in reference to the existing relations between employers and labourers, the rate of wages, the supply of labour, the system and expense of cultivation, and the general state of their rural and agricultural economy; and the other into the state of the British possessions on the west coast of Africa, more especially with reference to their present relations with the neighbouring native tribes. It is manifest from the lines of inquiry thus announced, that subjects of the greatest importance are to be taken up; and, indeed, Lord Stanley, in the remarks with which he accompanied his notice of motion, avowed the design to be to overcome, if possible, the difficulties which lie in the way of an extended emigration from Africa to the West Indies. The public has long been aware that the West Indians have been hankering after such a measure, and have been urging the government to its adoption; and we see with unfeigned regret and alarm that the present ministers have so far yielded to their importunities as to appoint the Committees of inquiry to which we have referred. The appointment of the Committees is not, of course, altogether tantamount to a decision of the question, inasmuch as there is a possibility that the result of the inquiry may be such as to defeat the design; but it indicates too plainly the wish and aim of the cabinet. Nor can we say that Lord Stanley has been over scrupulous as to the means of carrying his point. The persons whom he has proposed for his Committees of inquiry are almost without exception such as are either interested in the emigration contemplated, or committed to the approval of it by a public expression of their sentiments; so that, with these bodies, professedly constituted for inquiry,

the whole question may be said to be prejudged. Little, however, as may be expected from them of an impartial hearing, they are the instruments by which the friends of humanity must at the present moment work. Evidence must be tendered to them by which the facts of the case may be brought out and set in their true light, and the positions and principles be established on which the friends of humanity object to the obnoxious design. Such an effort will involve much, both of labour and expense; but the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society will not hesitate to encounter both. They have indeed already begun; and they solicit from their friends in every quarter references to persons qualified to render them assistance.

We cannot part with the speech of Lord Stanley, without expressing our gratification at the noble testimony which the former part of it contains to the results of emancipation, so far as the blacks are concerned. His lordship here echoes what we have often said, and his authority will gain for it, we hope, universal credence. Would that the latter part of his speech had done equal justice to his subject!

At last the American government has broken ground on the subject of the *Creole*, and a long letter of hypothetical instructions from Mr. Secretary Webster to Mr. Ambassador Everett has appeared in the public papers. Of course the American Secretary represents the case as calling loudly for redress and indemnity. He lays down the broad rule, as the only one that will satisfy his government, that "aid and succour should be extended" to Americans by British functionaries, in cases involving the presence of slaves, as in others affecting the interests of friendly states; and this he would require "as much in the ports of England herself, as of her colonies." That is to say, he would have every British functionary, from the highest to the lowest, enrolled as an assistant constable, in case of need, to American slave-holders. We believe him. The feeble and frightened tyrants of the south would be very glad so vastly to strengthen their "peculiar institution." But most assuredly they will not do it by British sinews. By the decision of British law, neither in Britain nor her colonies can a human being exist in slavery; and a British officer who should dare to bring one into bonds, or hold him there, would do it at his peril. Such is the great and glorious principle which Mr. Webster modestly calls on the British government to abandon! And this on the ground of the comity of nations! As if international courtesies were to have no limit, and could require or justify participation in crimes the most atrocious and abhorred! There is no possibility of such a concession being made by the British government. It is indeed humiliating to see the American cabinet soliciting it, for what, after all, is not a national object. Some of the states of the union as firmly repudiate slavery as Great Britain does, and perpetually refuse that comity to their sister states which is demanded of us. While Mr. Webster cannot persuade the New Englanders to assist the southerners in catching run-away slaves, to lecture the government of Old England on the subject is not only useless, but ridiculous.

In the Congress of the United States, the House of Representatives has been deeply engaged with Mr. Marshall's resolution, proposing to censure Mr. Adams for presenting a petition from some of his constituents for a dissolution of the union. This veteran statesman has sketched so bold an outline for his defence, and marked out for discussion a ground so broad, and containing so many dangerous points for the slave-holders, that the entire party seem to have been smitten with terror. They have in dismay consented to a proposition, in which Mr. Adams has also courteously acquiesced, that the resolutions of censure should be laid on the table; that is to say, in American technical phraseology, that no further notice be taken of them. This motion on being formally put, was carried by a majority of fifteen, and this result is a defeat and humiliation of the pro-slavery party. Public feeling in the north has been on this occasion very strongly excited in favour of the aged champion of liberty, and his struggle on behalf of the right of petition has been duly appreciated; so much so, that he is said by the *Emancipator* to be receiving at this moment higher honours than when he was elected to the presidency.

THE arrival of the British Anti-slavery deputation in Paris, was preceded by the appearance of a hostile pamphlet on the part of the colonists, from the pen of M. Jollivet, a member of the Chamber of Deputies, and agent for the colony of Martinique. It has a certain sort of cleverness, but it is altogether unprincipled and unfair. It is entitled *English Philanthropy*, and makes an appeal to all kinds of topics adapted to awaken irritation and contempt towards the English nation. As a sample of his unfairness we may refer to the notice which the writer takes of the case of the *Creole*. He artfully misapplies our commendation of the forbearance of the slaves to their deeds of bloodshed, and then says "he leaves the facts, without comment to the indignation of his country!" He goes on to exclaim:—

"Thanks be to God, English philanthropy has not yet gangrened us! Fanaticism has not yet rendered us cruel! I doubt if there can be found in France a man (I do not except even the correspondent of the *Anti-Slavery Reporter*, M. Isambert), a single man, who dares to apologise for a black acquiring his liberty by assassination! Such a man has been found in England. It is Lord Denman, chief justice of the court of Queen's bench, and member of the house of lords. Lord Aberdeen, minister of foreign affairs, had declared that the British government had not power to bring the parties accused of revolt and murder to trial, and that the secre-

tary for the colonies had sent out orders to release the nineteen persons who had at first been arrested. Lord Denman declared in his turn, that 'the opinion of Lord Aberdeen was concurred in by all the judges sitting at Westminster Hall;' and coolly added, 'At all events, your lordships will learn with pleasure, that two hundred human beings in a state of slavery have acquired their liberty!'

It would, perhaps, surprise M. Jollivet to know how many millions of people in England sympathise in the joy thus expressed by Lord Denman. Is there a man in France, M. Jollivet alone excepted, who does not?

As his concluding topic, M. Jollivet takes up the continued existence of slavery in British India, concerning which our own pages have furnished him all the information he seems to possess, and he finishes with a recommendation to British abolitionists to "occupy themselves less with the abolition of slavery in the French colonies, and more with the abolition of slavery in India." This hit was to be expected, and we take the advice in good part. We shall endeavour to pursue the abolition of slavery in India with so much vigour as shall give consistency to our efforts, which will yet be continued, for its abolition in the colonies of France, and throughout the world.

In the Guiana papers we find an account of a public meeting of the coloured classes, and the formation of a society for the promotion of their common interests. We hail the token, and wish them both zeal and wisdom. The following remarks on the subject are from the *Gazette and Advertiser*:

The object of the meeting was highly laudable, and the society which it was proposed to establish might, if conducted with unanimity and vigour, be productive of very beneficial consequences. In times past there has been, for obvious reasons, a great disposition on the part of those who had African blood in their veins to sink as much as possible that portion of their pedigree, and to separate themselves as far as might be from the mass of the population. The consequence has been divisions among themselves, breaking them up into a number of hostile little coteries, and a total separation between the mass of the community and those whose education might fit them, and whose position and descent would point them out, as the natural leaders and instructors of the mass of the people. Any thing that might be effectually done to reverse this order of things, and so to give to the community a greater uniformity of feeling, would be very beneficial.

We have inserted elsewhere an extract from a letter of the rev. W. Ketley, of Demerara, in relation to the state of British Guiana. Although it was written before the outbreak of the late disturbances, it contains statements highly deserving of regard, especially with respect to the sums of money supposed to be in the possession of the peasantry, and their competency to the purchase of estates.

We are authorized to state that the letter on emigration to Jamaica, which appeared in our columns on the 9th ult., was from the pen of the Rev. George Wilkinson, an agent of the London Missionary Society, now resident in Kingston.

From the *Times* of the 4th instant we copy the following extract of a letter from the Madrid correspondent of that paper. Having no other information, we insert it as we find it; merely adding that, from the particulars stated, the conduct of Mr. Turnbull has evidently been such as to deserve the admiration and gratitude of all true-hearted abolitionists.

The *Espectador*, a ministerial journal, announces the recall of Mr. Turnbull, British Consul at the Havana. "The Spanish government," it says, "had repeatedly demanded his removal. The acquiescence of the English cabinet shows its good faith. It is certain that the consul had incessantly raised, as an abolitionist, questions which spread agitation and alarm among the population of the island of Cuba. Mr. Turnbull carried this mania to such an extent that it was impossible to continue him any longer in his consular post. He had latterly proceeded to Matanzas, where he began to question the people of colour respecting the period of their arrival in the island. The Spanish government pleaded temperately, and with perfect propriety, its right and the justice of its cause; and the British cabinet has hastened to prove to it the good faith with which it is animated."

THE BEY OF TUNIS.

We gave in our last, from a private letter, the answer of the Bey of Tunis to the address borne by Mr. Richardson. We now copy from the *Malta Times* such particulars of the presentation as our limited space will allow.

His Highness having appointed a day for the reception of the testimonial, the British Consul-general, Sir Thomas Reade, made all the requisite preliminary arrangements.

On the morning of the 2nd of February, at an early hour, the Consul-general, Mr. Ferrier the Vice-consul, Mr. Santillana the chancellor of the consulate and his son, Mr. Richardson, and Mr. Holman the celebrated blind traveller, left the city of Tunis for Bardo, the far-famed palace of the Beys of that country.

The Bey received us in his private hall of audience. On entering the hall, we found the Bey with several of his ministers standing waiting to receive us. There were present besides his Highness, the treasurer Sidi Mustapha, the intimate friend and greatest favourite of the Bey; Sidi Ahmed Ben Deëff, a private secretary of the Bey, and a very accomplished Arabic scholar; the Cavalier Raffo, the minister of foreign affairs; and M. Bogo, minister of affairs for European residents.

Immediately the Bey saw us he walked up to us with a hurried step, and welcomed us with a most animated countenance. The deportment of the Bey (who is a young man) in the reception of

strangers is marked with the greatest sensibility, if not passion, having none of that cold formality about it which is so forbidding in the intercourse of Europeans with Oriental princes. The Bey then, having himself sat down on a simple European chair, commanded his visitors also to sit down beside him, after Mr. Richardson had given the testimonial and the signatures to the minister of foreign affairs, to be presented to the Bey. On receiving the testimonial his Highness gave it to his private secretary to be read, Arabic translations of all the papers having been prepared. Before the reading the Consuls and visitors had coffee served up to them.

The first document read was an address of Mr. Richardson to the Bey: viz.—

"I present to your highness, in the name of that God whom all Christians and Mussulmans worship, an address, or testimonial of gratitude, signed by the British officers, merchants, and residents of Malta and Gozo, Gibraltar, Florence, Leghorn, Naples, Smyrna, and Tripoli, thanking your highness for those PRELIMINARY STEPS which your highness has taken for the abolition of slavery in your dominions.

"Among the names, attached to this testimonial, your highness will find some, nay many British gentlemen of the greatest talent and most eminent rank, who have spontaneously come forward to testify their gratitude and admiration of the noble and philanthropic conduct of your highness to relieve suffering humanity, and build up again the fortunes of Northern Africa!

"We are convinced that your highness has achieved more honour by this act for the abolition of slavery than any Mussulman Prince ever has done by war and conquest, or the promotion of the arts and sciences; and, we feel persuaded that if your highness continues to complete this great work of emancipation for Africa, your highness' name will descend, covered with glory, to the latest periods of the world.

"Our countrymen are deeply sensible of the great merit of the representative of their sovereign at the court of your highness, who has humbly but unceasingly represented to your highness the great good which your highness would accomplish by this measure, and the transcendent reputation which your highness would acquire thereby throughout Europe and the world.

"We are happy to hear, likewise, that enlightened and philanthropic Frenchmen have congratulated your highness on your noble determination to extinguish slavery; for, in this immense measure of humanity, national rivalries can never enter."

Then followed the reading of the testimonial, and afterwards a letter from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society was read. During the reading of these documents, the Bey at times shewed himself much agitated, and now and then made ejaculations in Italian and Arabic, putting his hand to his breast, and adding—"I did it all from my heart!"

He then addressed Mr. Richardson in nearly the following words:—

"I am much obliged to you, Sir, for the trouble which you have taken in preparing the address, and procuring the signatures. I am extremely grateful to those of your countrymen who have delegated you to present the address to me. I am profoundly sensible of the great honour thus conferred on me. And I will not fail to seize every opportunity which is in my power, to ameliorate the condition of the blacks of Africa. I began with pleasure the abolition of slavery, and I will not cease to prosecute the great work of emancipation until I have completely extirpated slavery from my dominions."

The party now took leave of his highness. It was very flattering to see the cordiality which existed between Sir Thomas Reade and the Bey. They talked together like intimate friends.

We must not close the account of the presentation of the testimonial without recording our thanks to Sidi Ben Ayed, who greatly interested himself in the success of our mission. Sidi Ben Ayed is one of the principal courtiers of his Highness the Bey; he is the most opulent and influential personage in the kingdom of Tunis, and is in great favour. Indeed, his generosity and amiable disposition, together with his knowledge of Christian countries (for he has been in Europe), render him a universal favourite. His family are very powerful, and bear an excellent character. Sidi Ben Ayed, on account of urgent business, was not present at the presentation of the testimonial, but expressed his warmest sympathies for the success of the mission. He has, following the example of his noble and generous master, liberated many of his slaves.

STATE OF BRITISH GUIANA.

(Extract of a Letter from the rev. W. Ketley, dated Dec. 3rd, 1841.)

As to the state of the negroes and their abiding good conduct, it strikes me that the most impartial testimony might be gathered from their masters, who, being unaccustomed ever to give them a good name undeservedly, have yet been constrained to speak well of them, however reluctantly. As theirs however, seems to be praise and dispraise almost with the same breath, even when they applaud, it requires but little discrimination to decide on which side truth preponderates. I think it enough that every prediction which, in their predilection for reproaching the negro, they ventured to promulgate, has utterly failed. At present signs appear of a very unsettled state of feeling; but why? On many estates Portuguese immigrants have been located, and, though unequal to the labour of the negro, have been privileged above them. It was the fashion to extol them before the negro; it has been unwisely intimated to these that their services may soon be dispensed with; and one estate near us has been almost denuded of the negro population. I

observe by the papers, however, that dissatisfaction is now expressed by the planters towards the Portuguese immigrants, and they say we have had enough of them; so that a re-action is taking place. But another, and I strongly apprehend, a fearful ground of discontent has arisen. The planters yesterday had a meeting for combination, at which I should think any man in his senses must see that they put forth a most exaggerated view of their case, especially when they tell us that every hogshhead of sugar costs twelve or fourteen dollars more in making than the average market price. What wise man would make another hogshhead, if such were the fact? And, to remedy this ruinous loss, they propose to begin in January to give 32 cents for the tariff rate of labour per day. Mr. — knows what the tariff is, and what heart-burning it has already occasioned. They propose to make no payment unless the day's labour by tariff is completed. They propose further, in every such case to exact 16 cents, that is eightpence, per day for house rent from each labourer who shall fail! They propose to stop all usual allowances—no more to allow them food from the estate (by which I understand plantains grown on the estate), at a moderate charge, as heretofore. They propose not to allow a labourer, if in any case (as when the ground is light, or the grass not heavy) he should be able, to get more than his day's wages by extra labour, &c. &c. And when it is remembered that the people are mostly located on the estates, and have not houses of their own, you will see how entirely they will be at the mercy of their masters when all have combined to act together thus. Before the people will be well aware of this combination of planters I fear great restlessness will prevail, especially if, as I heard yesterday, some have begun already to act even beforehand. Suppose a case. A negro is unwell, so as not to be able to get through his task—he is not ill so as to go to the estates' hospital (where only the doctor is expected to attend), but, by remaining at home two or three days, he hopes to recruit. Because he (or she) is not at the hospital, he is adjudged squatting or idling at home, and is brought into the estate's debt 8d. for every such day. Of such an instance I was told yesterday, producing, as might well be supposed, great discontent, and some are said to be leaving the estate; but where will the discontents be able to go, if other planters under combination choose not to employ them? Such as have lands of their own, as some have, will leave estate cultivation, fairly driven away by whatever you may choose to call it—to me it is not unlike oppression. But a great outcry is made as to the increasing wealth of the negro, and missionaries have so written as to confirm the belief. My opinion is not as theirs. True, upwards of 400 transfers (perhaps 500) of land have been passed to labourers. Have all paid for the land? Can it be said to be theirs in any case when not paid for? In part they have paid; but I fear it will be found that the negro, ignorant of figures and not remarkable for calculation, has been carried beyond his reach. In the paper I send you by this mail you may see that one instance has already occurred, at Plantation Blyden Hall, where already the labourers who had purchased have failed to fulfil their engagements, and it has returned to its proprietor. This to me is signal. The same paper informs you that 80,000 dollars have been engaged to be paid by labourers for a plantation to be called *Victoria*; but you read also that half, i. e. 40,000 dollars has been, or (mark the words) is to be, paid in hard cash—the rest when? It is one thing to affix a time for payment, another to fulfil it. I also know of a purchase where half is paid and half to be paid; but the question is, will the negroes be able to meet it. But it will be said that they must have been exceedingly well off, and have had enormous wages, to be able even to advance so much. This is a fallacy. I have spoken to several negroes, inquiring how they had been able to make such purchase; and they have replied that many of them have thrown their money together, forming in each case a joint company—that, when they were slaves they reared stock and planted provision on waste parts of the estate; and, as the master had to give them fish and plantains, most of them who wanted to take care put their bits up in a safe place, and so it became much a little at a time; but that now they are free it is not so, every thing is dear, and it is hard to lay by without self-denial. But how then do you expect to fulfil your engagement? They reply it is our intention to work most of our time for our former masters, and our wives always will be at work; and, what time we can spare, we shall help such of our older brothers who will try to plant provisions, to sell and pay the balance. I may be as gloomy in my forebodings as any planter in some people's estimation, but still I do forebode; I do not believe the negroes are getting wealthy, and, if the planters' combination stands, they never will. But I have said nothing of the ruinous taxation on provisions which our legislature will contrive shortly, if possible, to put on the lands and productions of our negro friends—which, if not paid in due time, will be followed by the knock of the hammer; and then what will become of negro wealth? Why, it will be said they had plenty of money to buy their estates, and were too lazy to cultivate them, and so they have come to want, as predicted by the planters! And are there no indications of such imputations already? I think a careful reading of the papers will show you that there are.

Correspondence.

To the Editor of the Anti-Slavery Reporter.

In the account of the proceedings of the anti-slavery deputation to Paris, it was stated "the deputies dined with M. Guizot."

As this might be understood to include the whole deputation, it seems right to explain that three of the number, one from England, one from Ireland, and one from Scotland, thought it best, under the circumstances, to decline the invitation, although fully sensible that it was an unusual act of courtesy from the minister of foreign affairs.

Yours sincerely and respectfully, JOSEPH STURGE.

Birmingham, Fourth Month 2nd, 1842.

* Messrs. Sturge, Dunlop, and Dr. Madden.—Ed.

Parliamentary Proceedings.

HOUSE OF COMMONS, MARCH 22.

LORD STANLEY rose to bring forward the motion of which he had given notice—viz., for a select committee to inquire into the state of the British possessions on the west coast of Africa, more especially with reference to their present relations with the neighbouring native tribes; and a select committee to inquire into the state of the different West Indian colonies, in reference to the existing relations between employers and labourers, the rate of wages, the supply of labour, the system and expense of cultivation, and the general state of their rural and agricultural economy. He said that, at that late hour of the night, he should be very unwilling to trespass unnecessarily on the indulgence of the house; but he thought the house would perceive that, standing in the situation which he had the honour to fill, and having two committees to propose—and his observations in respect of them would be confined to a single address—it was impossible for him to enter on the inquiry into subjects so important without offering a few words to the house, while furnishing documents in respect of those great interests which he was about to advocate. He felt that, in doing so, he should not be able to call the attention of the house to topics of local or controversial interest, but he thought he might fairly claim their indulgence on a subject of immense importance to the interests of the country; and, considering how deeply he was involved in this question, and the situation he held, it was natural that he should be anxious for the great experiment which he was the organ of proposing. And he was happy to say that, so far as regarded the result of that great experiment on the whole of the population of the West Indies that had been emancipated, he believed he might say without exception, that it had been satisfactory beyond the most sanguine expectation of the most ardent colonial well-wisher. In every island, not only had physical prosperity increased to a great extent, but, what was more gratifying still, there had been a continuance of industrious habits, of improvement in the social system and religious and moral habits, and of all those qualities which were of infinitely more importance than the animal comfort of the parties (hear). He thought he might safely state to the house, that he had not exaggerated the present social condition of the West India colonies, so far as related to the labouring population, when, in an official statement, which it had become his duty to draw up not long ago, in answer to the supposed failure of the great experiment of emancipation, he had ventured to state that, since the Emancipation Act, the negroes had become thriving and contented, had improved their manner of living, increased their comforts of enjoyment, and, while the offences against the laws had become less, their moral habits had become better. The number of marriages among them had increased, and they possessed knowledge and information, influenced in a great degree by the ministers of religion. Such had been the results of emancipation; and, as far as related to the primary objects of the act, the success had been complete. He would not read many extracts to the house, but he could not help calling their attention for a short time to some of the representations which had been made by persons in authority in the West Indies, with regard to the present condition and prospects of the negroes; and, although the condition of the various islands varied according to their different circumstances, the prosperity of the labourer, and of the planter also, was more conspicuous in the thinly peopled and fertile new colonies, than in the old more densely peopled colonies. He believed, however, that the facts were more or less applicable to the whole of the colonies throughout the West India islands. He excluded the colony of the Mauritius, and confined himself to the West India colonies. And the observations with which he was about to trouble the house had reference to the colonies of Jamaica and Demerara. In 1840, Sir Charles Metcalfe gave the following report:—Six years after the passing of the Emancipation Act, and after two of his government, he said that the present condition of the peasantry in the island of Jamaica was very striking. He did not suppose that any peasantry had so many comforts or so much independence. Their behaviour was peaceable, and in some respects cheerful. They were found to attend Divine service in good clothes, many of them riding on horses. They sent their children to school, and paid for their schooling, and not only attended the churches of their different communities, but subscribed for their respective churches. Their piety was remarkable, and he was happy to add, that in most respects they deserved what they had. They were generally well ordered, free from crime, had much improved in their habits, and were constant in their attendance on Divine worship themselves, and in the attendance of their children, and were willing to pay the expenses. The last report of Sir Charles Metcalfe was on the 4th November, 1841, and he (Lord Stanley) had received it with regret, because it contained the resignation of his government, during which he had rendered most valuable services to the colony. Sir Charles Metcalfe said that, with respect to the labouring population, formerly slaves but now perfectly free, they were more independent than in other free countries. He ventured to say that in no country in the world could the labouring population be more provided with the comforts of life, or more at ease, or more free from oppression than were the peasantry of the island of Jamaica. The next statement he (Lord Stanley) would read to the house was by a stipendiary magistrate. He said, it would appear wonderful how so much had been accomplished in the island in building, planting, and digging, and making fences, without a cessation of labour on the part of the population. The reason was, that the emancipation from bondage to new hopes, new desires, and new responsibilities, strengthened the exertions of the negro, and enabled him to labour in his own plantation, and to spare time to labour in the plantations of others. And to that statement was attached a most singular document, which showed the number in one parish, not of those who had landed possessions, but of those who had entered their names as being the owners of property liable to taxation, and who had stated their willingness as freemen to bear their proportion of the public imposts. In that parish, in 1836, there were 317 names; in 1840, 1321; and in 1841, 1866. And the number of freeholders, who had become freeholders by their accumulations and industry in the island of Jamaica, was, in 1838, 2114, and in the space of two years, in 1840, their number had increased to 7340. He felt confident that he was not wearying the attention of the house by stating circumstances so important and so gratifying as they must be to the country at large, by whose liberality and generous sacrifice, never before paralleled in any country, so pure in

its measure had been called into operation. He was sure that even at that late hour, he should not be considered unnecessarily trespassing on the house, while he stated what had been the result of that great and generous sacrifice on the negro population of the colonies. He had a statement now before him of the wages which could be earned by an able-bodied labourer, willing to work for six or seven hours a day, in the colony of Demerara. It appeared that the net amount earned in 1840 was not less than £23 in wages actually paid in money—a house and provision grounds, worth £15, and medical attendance, which cost £3, in all £41, beside the advantages of having churches and schools free from parochial or any other rates whatever. There was another statement before him, saying, that the resources of the colony were great if there were only hands for their development, and that there was no country in the world, in which houses, provisions, grounds, medical attendance, schools, chapels, and ministers, were more within the reach of the masses, or where the masses were more protected in their rights than in that colony. And what was the consequence of all this prosperity on the negro mind? Had it led to habits of vagrancy and indolence? Had it led the negro to abandon the pursuits of industry, and to give up the cultivation of the soil? He might mention the mode in which the wages were applied by the labourers who accumulated them. In 1839, some of them bought an abandoned sugar estate for 30,000 dollars, or £2000. sterling, two-thirds of it being paid down in hard dollars, and the remaining portion being agreed to be paid within three weeks. The person who made this statement to him added, that they intended replanting the estate, and that this entire transaction spoke volumes against the alleged idleness of the negroes, and showed that they preferred to remain on the dear but cultivated estates of the colony, rather than go into the uncultivated districts where estates might be purchased for a mere trifle. In 1840, an estate in the neighbourhood of Annandale, on the east coast, was purchased by 140 or 150 labourers, for 50,000 dollars, or £11,000 sterling. 20,000 dollars had been offered for another estate on the same coast, but the bargain had not been yet concluded. The same things happened in Berbice. 20,000 dollars were offered for an estate on the west coast of that island. The sums offered on these occasions were in ready money, and were the market prices of the estates. The last account on this subject he had received within a short period indeed. On the 30th of November last, Governor Light wrote to say that another estate on the east coast had been purchased for 80,000 dollars, or £16,000 sterling; 30,000 dollars having been paid in hand, 5000 having been paid within a month after the contract had been entered into, and the remainder being agreed to be paid within a short time after possession should have been given up; and that, out of 200 negroes who had entered into the contract, 100 had already paid down 400 dollars each; one man, who, from keeping a horse and gig, was supposed to be wealthier than the others, having contributed 2000 dollars. The result of the emancipation had been, in the first instance, that large and exorbitant wages had been demanded by the negroes; and, in the next place, that they became thrifty and frugal, and were laying by their savings, acquiring property, and industriously improving their condition. He could multiply instances of this description, but that he was afraid of wearying the house, with regard to the conduct of these labourers, and the manner in which they applied their money and accumulated property. Governor Light, in another despatch, written soon after the 1st of August, 1840, said that he had not thought it necessary to make that anniversary a day of thanksgiving, but that it was most satisfactory to regard the conduct of the working classes, who appeared to sink the remembrance of their past state in the present enjoyment of freedom. Governor Light said that he visited Essequibo in 1838, and again in 1840, and that it was gratifying to report the change which had taken place in the bearing and habits of the negroes since 1838. In the following year he repeated his visit, and he found, in parts where there had been scarcely a house standing before, that houses were now numerous, and that eighteen properties had been sold to the negroes in small lots, on which they erected neat cottages, and that a respectable village, with a good church and school, had sprung up there. There was a new settlement three miles eastward of Essequibo, and near to Williams-town, where the congregation was numerous, attentive, and well-dressed. As far as the negroes were concerned, the experiment had been most successful. They had more than vindicated the hopes which had been entertained of them by the advocates of emancipation. They proved the value which they set upon, and they took every opportunity to make the best return in their power, for the gift of freedom conferred on them by the British parliament. If the house wanted another proof of the success of the experiment, they would find it, not in the amount of produce raised in those colonies, but in the amount of the exports from this country to them during the periods preceding and following emancipation. There had been, no doubt, a diminution in the amount of sugar raised in those colonies, but nothing could be a better proof of the success of the experiment than the amount of the produce exported to them from this country. The average value of the exports during the six years preceding the apprenticeship was £2,783,000 from 1825 to 1838 £3,578,000, and in the first year of freedom £4,002,465—(hear, hear). It was true that there was a depression last year, but yet the exports amounted to £3,492,734. He would not trouble the house with details with regard to schools, chapels, and churches. He thought that he had now said enough to show what was the state of improvement in the social condition of the negroes in those colonies. If they were the only parties whose interests were concerned in the welfare of those colonies, it would not be now a part of his duty to call on the house to appoint a select committee, for the purpose of investigating the various subjects connected with the rural and agricultural economy of the West Indies. Notwithstanding this great prosperity on the part of the negroes, for which he could not be unthankful for having been instrumental in persuading the British parliament to confer the boon of freedom on that ill-treated race, yet he could not shut his eyes to the fact that, though the great and paramount object of the advocates of emancipation had been realised, yet the causes which led to the present results with regard to the negroes were productive, not only of great and unmerited hardship on the planters, but of serious injury to the commerce of the British empire—and he could not disguise from himself or from the house the fact, that the West India planters were now suffering serious loss and serious injury. And it would be his duty to ask the house of commons to take into consideration, and to investigate before a select committee, what were the causes of these losses; and, if they appeared to admit of a remedy, to consider what means could be adopted

for the modification or mitigation of the distress. It could not be denied that the prosperity of the planters in the West Indies depended mainly upon sugar; and, when he looked at the quantity of sugar exported from the West Indies in comparative periods of years, he found that in the same period of years to which he had referred when speaking of the labourers, namely, in the six years which preceded emancipation, the average amount was 3,965,000 cwt.; in the period of apprenticeship the average fell to 3,058,000 cwt.; and in the first year of freedom, it sunk again to 2,824,000 cwt.; and in the year 1840, it fell from 3,900,000 cwt., which had been its original average, to 2,810,000 cwt. If the house would allow him to enter into these details, he did not wish to produce any impression of an exaggerated nature, but admitted that the diminished quantity of sugar produced had been made up to the planters of late years by the increased price which they received, and that, although there was a smaller amount of produce, yet, when he looked at the amount received in the six years preceding emancipation, he found it to be 5,320,000 dollars; in the four years of apprenticeship 6,223,000 dollars; in the first year of freedom 5,530,000 dollars; in the next year 5,424,000; and, although in this year there would be a large reduction, still there would be a fair remuneration for what was lost by the diminution of produce. The planters, therefore, had not sustained any very serious diminution of their income from this cause; but they had suffered a very serious and ruinous expense in the cultivation of their estates from the want and scantiness of labour—from the abstraction of labour in consequence of the industrious application of the labourers to their own farms—from their having become possessors of property, instead of mere cultivators of the soil. In consequence of this, the planters were compelled to pay exorbitant and enormous wages, and, from the information he had received, he believed that, in several of the colonies, so extravagant were the rate of wages and the expenses of cultivation, that unless some remedy could be provided, it would be impossible for the owners to cultivate many of the estates. He would beg leave to state one case, which was deserving of being made a subject of investigation by a committee, and of being tested by the cross-examination of witnesses, which was a much more satisfactory process than could be adopted upon any written statements, which were not liable to such a course of investigation. He had some reports on the subject from Trinidad, where a committee of planters had collected evidence as to the result of the enormous expenses incurred in the cultivation of estates. Another committee had been appointed on the same subject in Demerara, and he must say, that from those reports it appeared impossible for cultivation to be carried on, if they contained statements at all approximating to the truth. He had a report of sixty-two sugar estates from the 1st of January to the 31st of October, 1841, in which period the expenditure was 1,091,000 dollars, while the return was 217,000 dollars, making a gross loss upon the whole of the estates of 874,000 dollars; and from November to December the same committee stated the expense to be 1,295,000, and the total revenue 312,000 dollars, the loss being 983,000 dollars. He did not, of course, pretend to vouch for the precise accuracy of these statements. He could only say they were founded upon the report of a committee who had investigated the subject very carefully, having directed their inquiries to the estates of those planters who had hitherto carried on their plantations with most success and prosperity. Governor Light, who, whatever might be his predilections, could not be accused of being unduly prejudiced in favour of the planters, was not satisfied with this result, but he had forwarded to him (Lord Stanley) a despatch, in which he said he had the honour to transmit a statement made to him by a gentleman who had always been of moderate opinions, and well disposed to the government. He did not, however, wish his name to be mentioned, and therefore the governor withheld it, as well as the names of the estates referred to, designating them only by numbers 1, 2, 3, and 4. This statement he said would afford proof of the ruinous expenditure on these four estates; and, if all other estates were in the same condition, the position of the planters must be very disastrous indeed. The statement was not so bad as some relating to other places, but it confirmed a representation of the condition of four of the best estates in Demerara, on the authority of a gentleman whom he (Lord Stanley) did not know, but who was represented as being a man of moderate opinions, and perfectly competent to form a judgment on the subject. The result of the statement was, that, upon one of the four estates, there had been an excess of revenue over the expenditure of 5,981,000 dollars, being the difference between 37,000,000 and 49,000,000, while on the other three estates there had been an actual loss. These statements he should wish to have subjected to the investigation of a committee, and he thought they were well deserving the attention of a committee of the house of commons. It was of the utmost importance that they should be considered dispassionately, calmly, and deliberately, as he was sure they would be by any committee which should be appointed to investigate the subject. Well, now, the planters were naturally very anxious that a remedy should be provided for this state of things, and it was quite clear that there were two remedies, and only two remedies, by which the cultivation of those estates could be profitably carried on; the one was by a reduction of the expenses of cultivation by the introduction of a better mode of management, and that would require to be specially considered, and the other by practically increasing the population by encouraging immigration into the colonies; thus, by competition, diminishing the wages of labour, and enabling the planters to cultivate their estates at a more reasonable expense. He should not at present enter upon the details of the first mode. There were various points connected with it well worthy of attention—such, for example, as whether it would be possible to introduce a system somewhat assimilated to our English one, placing the labourers somewhat in the condition of tenants, and giving them an interest dependent upon, and inseparable from, that of the landlords, and rendering them participators in the benefits arising from the improvement of the soil, and the increase of the amount of the produce. He knew that there might be some practical difficulties in the way of such arrangement, but it would be well to consider how far they were capable of being surmounted. It would also be necessary to consider how far it would be practicable to save manual labour on various parts of an estate. On these points it would be highly desirable that persons conversant with cultivation in the West Indies should be examined by other parties conversant with cultivation in this country. With regard to immigration, all the details would prove that, as far as it

affected the labourers, so far as it had been carried on with regard to all persons of African descent, whether liberated Africans from the coast of Africa, or immigrants from the United States, or from the neighbouring islands, the effect had been satisfactory—there had been little of disease, nothing of suffering, and little of mortality, and all persons of African descent were living proofs of the success of the scheme. They were satisfied with their condition, the persons who had received them were satisfied with their conduct, and it was admitted that their condition was improved. He wished he could say the same of immigrants from Europe; but he was bound in truth to state—and he wished to state it publicly—that, so far as he could judge from the immigration of persons from Europe to Jamaica or Demerara—particularly into those parts to which immigrants naturally resorted—namely, the low lands of the country, there had been a dreadful degree of suffering, which had had a fatal effect upon the health and lives of persons so circumstanced: and, in justice to the colony, he was bound to say, that, so sensible were they of the fact, that, desirous as they naturally were of procuring an accession of labour, a resolution had been proposed in the house of assembly, discouraging immigration at the expense of the public from the British islands or other parts of Europe. Some immigration had been carried on to Demerara by the Portuguese. Those who so immigrated had made themselves very useful to the persons into whose employment they entered—principally the shopkeepers in towns—and had proved very industrious; but unfortunately their introduction was accompanied, in the first instance, by a very great degree of suffering, and the mortality was not less than from 7 to 10 per cent. of the whole number. Under these circumstances he had felt it his duty to lay a statement before the Portuguese government that they should not suffer their subjects to emigrate to a British colony, where they might be subjected to so much suffering. If that were permitted to go on, it might be made a subject of complaint hereafter; and he had therefore felt it his duty to communicate to the Portuguese government the whole of the information he had received on the subject, and to caution them against allowing their subjects to expose themselves to such a lamentable degree of suffering and mortality as they might be liable to in those islands. In passing, he was happy to say that in the colony of Demerara, even the accounts of the Hill Coolies, who were certainly a class of persons which, next to Europeans, suffered most, were much more favourable than at an early period, and represented that the recent mortality among them had been very trifling—(hear, hear). Now, it was quite clear that, as far as immigration was concerned, the coast of Africa was the quarter from which the colonies expected the largest supply; and he (Lord Stanley) should not be dealing fairly by the house, he should not be dealing fairly by the colonies or the country, if he did not state that he saw very great objection, and doubt, and obstacles in the way of anything like an unlimited emigration from Africa. He thought it would be likely to give rise to a suspicion of much more abuse than at present existed, and also give rise to the jealousy of foreign powers; and, though he was convinced that a perfectly free emigration from the coast of Africa to our West India colonies would place the emigrant in more favourable circumstances than he was in at present in his own country, and, if the stream of emigration could be kept up, with the constant opportunity afforded the emigrant of returning to Africa, he believed that no step which could be taken would be so effectual for the promotion of the interests of humanity, and the extension of civilisation, and religion also, among the tribes on the coast of Africa, still it was a subject to be dealt with with the greatest caution and care, for he did not pretend to say that the difficulties had been understated. For this purpose he intended to move for the appointment of another committee, whose inquiries should be simultaneous with the inquiries of the committee into the state of agriculture in the West Indies. He wished for a committee to inquire into the state of the settlements on the coast of Africa, particularly with reference to their relation to the labouring classes. The house was aware that this country possessed along the Gold coast a number of detached ports or settlements, occupied by British subjects living under an anomalous form of government; at one time held by the crown, but now managed exclusively by a committee of merchants, who administered what was called British law, which was administered without the appurtenances of British law, for there was neither judge nor jury; indeed, the law was rather crudely administered—(a laugh). But in the immediate neighbourhood of and all round these forts were native tribes, intimately connected by trade and commerce with these forts, and to a great degree influenced by the merchants within these forts; and it was of the greatest importance that we should well consider the precise relations—the legal and real relations—in which we stand in regard to these surrounding natives—(hear). At present there was a certain degree of British law administered without British machinery, and administered also out of British districts without any legal authority. Under the law so administered sentences were passed, persons imprisoned, and debts recovered, and all that related to law, without the legality of jurisdiction, carried on with all the semblance of authority. Perhaps this state of things was a necessary evil, but at the same time it was an evil. It left those tribes in great doubt as to our real authority, and tended to produce a power which was at once acknowledged to have passed the limits of law, and which placed no limits on its own encroachments, except at its own discretion or indiscretion. If these settlements, thus occupying perhaps not more than a square mile or two, were made the ports from which emigration was to be conducted between Africa and the West India colonies, one of two things must occur. The neighbouring tribes, or the greater portion of them, were in a state of domestic slavery. He believed there were some tribes who were free; and he should like it to form one of the inquiries of the committee, to ascertain which were the tribes that were really free, and had the disposal of their labour and persons at their own free will. Among a great majority, however, there was no doubt that domestic slavery prevailed. Then one of two things must occur; either emigration would consist of run-away slaves who had left their masters, with whose institutions and customs, they being perhaps beyond our limits, we had no possible right to interfere, and, having so left their masters, taken refuge in our settlements; in that case, we ran the risk of bringing upon ourselves the ill-will and jealousy of these neighbouring tribes, with whom we had been on terms of the most perfect amity, and over whom we had great influence; or, on the other hand, under the name of permission and license to free labourers to emigrate to our colonies, the

colonists might begin to enter into a traffic with the native chiefs for the emigration of their subjects for a sum of money; in other words, they would buy these emigrants; and, consequently, strong suspicions would attach to us that we were attempting to establish a new slave-trade on the coast of Africa. He did not say that these obstacles were not over-rated; but he would say this, that they were not to be surmounted without having the whole facts before the public and before the world, and that, if we could not surmount them, it was our bounden duty to prevent the slave-trade in Africa, under whatever colours it might appear—(cheers). If we could surmount them, let us declare to the world the mode by which we intended to surmount them, the protection which we would give those persons, and the extent of our guarantee to the merchants. If we could not do that, we should be justified in withholding from the West Indies a free emigration of labourers from the coast of Africa; but, if we could surmount these obstacles, and take care that the emigrants should be protected, then he said that such emigration, conducted on principles of entire freedom, would be productive of incalculable benefits, not only to the individuals the subjects of that emigration, but, in its ultimate results, by their intercourse with civilized society, to the interests of civilization, the interests of humanity, and the promotion of christianity throughout the continent of Africa (loud cheers). He thanked the house for the patience with which it had listened to his observations (hear, hear) upon a subject whose importance, whatever might be the manner in which he had introduced it, at least deserved the attention and serious consideration of the house (hear, hear). He had endeavoured to state the case as it appeared to him on a careful perusal of official documents, without prejudice or exaggeration; and all he hoped was that, if the house desired to enter into a discussion upon the subject, it would preserve the same care to avoid exaggeration and prejudice; and if, a committee were entrusted with the subject, that those two important points, intimately connected as they were, would meet with the committee's full, fair, and deliberate consideration.

Major C. BRUCE seconded the motion.

Mr. V. SMITH expressed his gratification at the very able statement which had been made by the noble lord the secretary for the colonies, seeing that his name was identified with the working of that great experiment which had proved so successful. At the same time, he (Mr. V. Smith) could not help feeling the great difficulties which the committee would have to encounter in the course of their inquiry. The noble lord proposed, through this committee, to inquire into the state of the different West India colonies, in reference to the existing relations between employers and labourers, the rate of wages, the supply of labour, the system and expense of cultivation, and the general state of their rural and agricultural economy. From the statement made by the noble lord of the prosperity of the labouring population in these colonies, it appeared that they were not only prosperous, but were making purchases for themselves. Now the task which would devolve upon the committee was of a very delicate character, and they must take great care not to interrupt, by any suggestions they might make, that good feeling and harmony which now existed as between the labourers and the employers. And, indeed, the difficulty of this question was increased by the union of such various subjects for the consideration of a committee. He would suggest to the noble lord whether it would not be advisable to give a power of conference between the two committees as to the introduction of free labourers. But the most interesting inquiry would be whether they would be able to produce any thing upon which the house could legislate or not, and certainly the mass of evidence could not fail to make an interesting document. With reference to the first committee, he thought the inquiry must be limited. If there were any thing in the noble lord's speech which he had to regret, it was that the noble lord had not stated what course the committee on the west coast of Africa were to pursue.

Mr. WAKLEY doubted whether the noble lord expected to get the least information from these committees. With reference to the second motion of the noble lord, he could not conceive the object of it, because the speech of the noble lord gave the most delightful account of the happiness of the emancipated slaves. Twenty millions had been given to the proprietors of the soil in the West Indies, as compensation for losses which they might have sustained. They were now suffering from a want of labour, and were enduring all those changes which the noble lord himself had anticipated, when he brought forward the great measure in 1833. He feared that the free labourers, whose condition was now so much improved, would be swamped by this measure, and reduced from a state of comparative happiness to one of the greatest distress. He believed the object of the noble lord was to ensure the complete success of the Emancipation Act, but he feared that, with respect to this measure, a pressure had been put upon the noble lord by the planters, who had informed him (Lord Stanley) that, unless he consented to it, we should not have a sufficient supply of sugar in this country. But the subject was one of great difficulty and delicacy, and he would therefore only say further that he hoped the committee would be so constituted as to protect the rights of the liberated slaves.

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Printed by WILLIAM JOHNSTON, and RICHARD BARRETT, of 13, Mark Lane, in the Parish of All Hallows Staining, and City of London: and Published by LANCELOT WILDE, of 13, Catherine Street, Strand, in the Parish of St. Mary-le-Strand, and City of Westminster, at 13, Catherine Street, Strand, as aforesaid. Sold by W. EVERITT, 16, Finch Lane, Cornhill. April 6th, 1842.